

Message Text

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PAGE 01 NICOSI 03153 01 OF 02 051551Z
ACTION SS-25

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O 051435Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6877
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 3153

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, UNGA, TU, CY
SUBJECT: CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS

REF: STATE 289204

1. I SAW DENKTASH FIRST THING MORNING DEC 5. HE HAD HAD A
GOOD WEEKEND HUNTING AND WAS RELAXED, WARMLY FRIENDLY AND
REASONABLE.

2. I SAID I HAD COME ON INSTRUCTIONS IN A LAST-DITCH EFFORT
TO SALVAGE A VAST AMOUNT OF WORK THAT HAD GONE INTO EFFORTS
TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CREATION OF A JOINT MISSING PERSONS
INVESTIGATORY COMMITTEE. OUR OBJECT WAS TO REMOVE THIS
HUMANITARIAN ISSUE FROM THE PROPAGANDA REALM AND SPECIFICALLY,
IN THIS CASE, TO AVOID DEBATE AND UNIMPLEMENTABLE RESOLUTION
IN THIRD COMMITTEE. WE WERE PLAYING THE HAND
FAIRLY, TRYING TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE LEGITIMATE
CONCERNS OF ALL PARTIES. IN OUR PREFERENCE FOR KEEPING
NEGOTIATION FOCUSED IN NEW YORK, WE HAD NOT HERETOFORE
APPROACHED DENKTASH. WE WERE DOING SO NOW BECAUSE GOT
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FEELS IT CANNOT GO BEYOND REV 3 OF THE WORKING PAPER
AND ALLUDES TO DIFFICULTIES WITH DENKTASH AS ONE
REASON FOR ITS POSITION. REV 4, WHICH WE ARE NOW
URGING, DERIVES PARTLY FROM WHAT WE REGARD AS LEGITIMATE
CONCERNS OF GREEK CYPRIOTS REGARDING SOME ASPECTS OF
REV 3. WITH REGARD TO THESE CONCERNS, WE HAD INSISTED
THAT GREEK CYPRIOTS SEND AN EMPOWERED REPRESENTATIVE TO

NEW YORK IF THEIR INTEREST WAS, AS CLAIMED, TRULY HUMANITARIAN. IN A BIND, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD SENT PAPADOPOULOS, WHO HAS BEHAVED REASONABLY. WE ARE HOPEFUL OF A MATCHING TURKISH RESPONSE TO WRAP UP AGREEMENT. WE ARE APPROACHING THIS IN THE SAME SPIRIT AS CYPRUS UNGA DEBATE ON WHICH DENKTASH COMMENTED FAVORABLY IN HIS LETTER TO PRESIDENT CARTER, WHICH WAS WELL RECEIVED IN WASHINGTON AND, I SAID, CITED IN MY INSTRUCTIONS.

3. I HANDED DENKTASH THE TEXT OF WORKING PAPER #3, REV 4, AS CONTAINED IN PARA TEN OF USUN 5158. DENKTASH READ IT ALOUD, COMMENTING AS HE WENT ON ASPECTS WHICH TROUBLED HIM IN THIS AND EARLIER DRAFTS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN PARA ONE HE SAID "HUMANITARIAN PERSON" IS UNTRANSLATABLE IN TURKISH. ON PARA TWO, I CAUTIONED THAT GREEKS HAVE NOT ACCEPTED THIS LANGUAGE DESPITE THE NEGOTIATING HISTORY. THIS HISTORY MAKES IT CLEAR THAT AMBASSADOR TURKMEN HAS ACCEPTED THAT IF THERE IS NO CONSENSUS IT IS IMPLICIT THAT MAJORITY SHALL DECIDE. DENKTASH AGREED THIS WAS SO. I SAID PAPADOPOULOS IS STILL INSISTING ON MAJORITY DECISION BEING EXPLICIT, EITHER BY SAYING SO IN PARA TWO OR BY REFERENCE TO "PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES" IN PARA ONE. REGARDING INVOLVEMENT OF ICRC IN PARAS FOUR AND FOURTEEN, DENKTASH (INTERESTINGLY) SAID HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED UNSYG INVOLVEMENT IN BOTH CASES. I NOTED, AND HE AGREED, THAT HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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PREFERENCE FOR UNSYG PARTICIPATION IS CONTRARY TO GOT'S DESIRE TO DISASSOCIATE MISSING PERSONS COMMITTEE ENTIRELY FROM THE UN. GOT'S WISHES HAD BEEN ACCOMMODATED. REGARDING PARA SIX, DENKTASH (IN THIS PORTION OF OUR CONVERSATION, SOMEWHAT AMENDED LATER, SEE BELOW) SAID THAT THERE WAS A PROBLEM WITH MILITARY AREAS. THIS WAS "NO CAUSE FOR ALARM" AS IT COULD BE ARGUED IN COMMITTEE LATER. DENKTASH COMMENTED THAT PARA SEVEN MEANS NOTHING WITHOUT A GOC LIST OF THOSE MISSING OR DEAD IN 1974 COUP. I SAID GOC IS TELLING US SUCH A LIST HAS NOW BEEN COMPLETED.

4. ON PARA EIGHT, DENKTASH SAID HE HAD ALWAYS INSISTED ON CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE NOT TO BE ARBITRARY OR MAKE PROPAGANDA POINTS BUT FOR THE SAKE OF ORDERLY PROCEDURE. FOR EXAMPLE, IN 1963-64 FIGHTING IT WAS NOT ONLY TURKS WHO HAD BEEN KILLED; 30 GREEKS WERE ALSO. NOTING THAT CURRENT LANGUAGE PROVIDES FOR A TURKISH CYPRIOT CASE, IN THE SINGULAR, TO BE PUT FORWARD FIRST, THUS GOINT PART WAY TO MEET HIS CONCERN FOR CHRONOLOGY, DENKTASH ASKED WHAT THE USE OF THE SINGULAR MEANS--THAT IF TEN TURKS WERE KILLED IN A SINGLE INCIDENT ON A GIVEN DATE, THE INCIDENT SHALL BE INVESTIGATED AS A "CASE", OR EACH INDIVIDUAL DEATH CONSIDERED A CASE? I SAID

I COULD NOT CLARIFY BUT PRESUMED THIS COULD BE AGREED IN THE COMMITTEE ONCE FUNCTIONING.

5. ON PARA TWELVE RE DISINTERMENT, DENKTASH SAID HIS POSITION OPPOSING HAD BEEN BASED ON BELIEF THAT VERY LITTLE POSITIVE COULD COME FROM THIS GRUESOME PROCEDURE. ACTUALLY, DISINTERMENT WOULD WORK TO THE PROPAGANDA ADVANTAGE OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT SIDE SINCE THE MASS GRAVES WERE IN THE SOUTH AND TURKISH.

6. RE PARA THIRTEEN, DENKTASH THOUGHT IT CRUEL TO USE LANGUAGE HOLDING OUT THE HOPE THAT ANY MISSING PERSONS ARE ALIVE.

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7. SWITCHING SUDDENLY AWAY FROM THESE DETAILED COMMENTS, DENKTASH SAID, "IF I AM FULLY SATISFIED ON FOUR POINTS, I ACCEPT THE LANGUAGE OF THIS REVISION, AND WILL NOT QUARREL WITH WHATEVER THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY MAY AGREE TO IN NEW YORK." DENKTASH THEN SPELLED OUT HIS FOUR POINTS: (1) IF THIS AGREEMENT IS ACCEPTED, THERE MUST BE NO RESOLUTION AND NO DEBATE IN THE THIRD COMMITTEE. DENKTASH WENT ON TO SAY THAT THIS MEANS NO STATEMENT IN COMMITTEE ABOUT THIS AGREEMENT OR ANYTHING TO GIVE THE GREEK SIDE A PEG ON WHICH TO HANG LATER RECOURSE. (2) TFSC MUST BE FREE, AFTER RPT AFTER THE ICRC ANNOUNCEMENT, TO MAKE ITS OWN GENERAL SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT THAT THIS WELCOME AGREEMENT HAS ITS ORIGINS IN THE MAKARIOS-DENKTASH AGREEMENTS OF FEB 1977 AS EVOLVED THROUGH RECENT INTENSIVE MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY. (3) LANGUAGE IN PARA TWELVE ACCEPTABLE "IF IT IS UNDERSTOOD" THAT ANY ULTIMATE DECISION

ON EXHUMATION MUST BE UNANIMOUS. (4) REGARDING PARA SIX,

ALSO, "IT MUST BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS DOES NOT AUTOMATICALLY
OPEN ALL MILITARY AREAS."

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8. DISCUSSING DENKTASH'S POSITION, I SAID I THOUGHT IT WOULD BE REGARDED IN WASHINGTON AS A CONSTRUCTIVE FORWARD STEP. IT WOULD NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THE END OF NEGOTIATION; AS I HAD NOTED, THE GREEK SIDE DOES NOT BUY PRESENT WORDING OF PARA TWO. ON POINT (1), MY UNDERSTANDING WAS THAT THE GREEK SIDE UNDERSTANDS THIS TO BE A FIRM QUID PRO QUO. IT IS CERTAINLY SUCH IN US MINDS. ON POINT (2), I SAID I PERSONALLY SAW NO REASON WHY TFSC SHOULD NOT BE ABLE TO MAKE ITS OWN STATEMENT, ALONG THE LINES DENKTASH HAD INDICATED, FOLLOWING THE ICRC ANNOUNCEMENT. ON POINT (3), I SAID I COULD NOT COMMENT AS THIS RAISED A NEW ASPECT THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE DISCUSSED IN NEW YORK. ON POINT (4) I SAID IT WAS PART OF THE NEGOTIATING HISTORY OF THIS AGREEMENT THAT ALL PARTIES HAD RECOGNIZED THERE WOULD BE A FEW REALLY SENSITIVE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS OR AREAS TO WHICH ACCESS WOULD BE DENIED BY THE TURKISH MILITARY. WHAT WE ALL WANTED TO AVOID, HOWEVER, WAS USE OF THIS ON A LARGE SCALE TO BLOCK LEGITIMATE INVESTIGATION. I NOTED, FOR EXAMPLE, THE VERY WEEPING NATURE OF TFSC LEGISLATION IN DEFINING MILITARY AREAS. IF THAT LAW WERE APPLIED TO THE INVESTIGATION, THE LATTER WOULD BE RENDERED MEANINGLESS. DENKTASH SAID THAT HAD NEVER BEEN WHAT HE HAD IN MIND AND, IN ANY CASE, THE LEGISLATION TO WHICH I REFERRED HAD BEEN CHANGED TO REDUCE NUMBER AND SIZE OF MILITARY AREAS AND WAS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING CHANGED AGAIN.

9. TO BE ABSOLUTELY SURE OF NO MISUNDERSTANDING, I WENT BACK OVER THE ELEMENTS OF DENKTASH'S CONSIDERED POSITION. ON DENKTASH'S POINT (1) I SIMPLY SAID "NO RESOLUTION NO DEBATE" AND DID NOT INCLUDE HIS AMPLIFYING COMMENT. WHEN I HAD FINISHED, DENKTASH
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CONFIRMED THAT I HAD REFLECTED HIS POSITION EXACTLY. I TOLD DENKTASH THAT IF HE HAD NO OBJECTION I PROPOSED TO REVIEW OUR CONVERSATION WITH TURKISH AMBASSADOR ONHON AT AN IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING MEETING. HE SAID THAT WOULD

BE FINE.

10. I INDEED THEN DID MEET WITH AMBASSADOR ONHON. HE WAS SURPRISED AND VERY PLEASED. HE TOOK DOWN THE DETAILS OF DENKTASH'S POSITION, SAID HE WOULD IMMEDIATELY MEET WITH THE LATTER TO CLOSE THE CIRCLE, AND THEN GET A REPORT OFF TO ANKARA. PARENTHETICALLY, HE REMARKED THAT THE TROUBLE WITH PARA SIX RE ACCESS HAD COME MOSTLY FROM THE TGS, WHICH WAS VERY SKITTISH. I SAID THAT IN ADDRESSING OURSELVES DIRECTLY TO DENKTASH, USG HAD NOT SOUGHT TO GO BEHIND TURKEY'S BACK. SEC GEN ELEK DAG HAD REFERRED TO DENKTASH AS A KEY OBSTACLE IN GOING BEYOND REV 3, AND WE HAD DECIDED OURSELVES TO HAVE A GO IN HELPING TO REMOVE THAT OBSTRUCTION. ONHON SAID HE UNDERSTOOD, WAS GRATEFUL, AND GRATIFIED THAT THE RESULTS HAD BEEN SO POSITIVE. CRAWFORD

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